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The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

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Memo to all East Timor solidarity groups

We have been informed that Indonesia will try to secure a seat on the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities when the whole Sub-commission comes up for re-election at the meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission to be held in Geneva in February - March this year.

The Sub-commission is supposed to consist of human rights experts who are independent of their governments. The Sub-commission's 26 seats are also divided on a regional basis. with five going to Asian countries. The normal procedure is that the Asian countries will agree among themselves on who will occupy 'their' seats on the Sub-commission.

Indonesia will nominate Jusuf Wanandi, with Jusuf Sudarsono as his substitute. The enclosed note provides information about these persons.

We suggest that groups consider ways of exposing and opposing the nomination, either by lobbying with their governments or in other ways. Groups in Asia, in particular, should lobby their governments to oppose this nomination. If any of you have ways of communicating with your country's head of mission in Geneva, that could be used.

We feel the prime objective should be to prevent Yusuf's election, or failing that, to expose him as a totally unsuitable member of the sub-commission.

Carmel and Liem

Yusuf Wanandi and Juwono Sudarsono, Indonesia's nominations for membership of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

Yusuf Wanandi and his brother, Sofyan Wanandi (their original names, Liem Bian Kie and Liem Bian Koen) were instrumental in the creation of an alliance between the military and the students at the time of the army takeover in 1965. As representatives of the small Catholic minority on campus (Yusuf studied law and Sofyan, economics), they belonged to a small but dedicated group of extreme right-wing Catholics who had been politically indoctrinated by the anti-communist Dutch Jesuit, Father Beek.

In the period 1965 - 1969, Sofyan emerged as a leader of the right-wing student federation, KAMI which operated in the cities to rally students under anti-communist slogans, helping the military to bring about the physical destruction of leftwing student organisations and trade unions. Yusuf was more low-profile than his brother at this time, operating primarily as a schemer and thinker.

Their chief military link was Colonel Ali Murtopo who was then in charge of intelligence at KOSTRAD (Strategic Army Command) which, in the early post-October 1965 days, was commanded by Suharto. The brothers' collaboration with Murtopo continued without interruption up to the time of Murtopo's death in 1982.

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

The CSIS was the brain-child of Murtopo, Father Beek and the two Wanandis. Prior to its establishment, Murtopo and the two brothers had functioned in the notorious OPSUS (Special Operations), a semi-legal intelligence network under Murtopo's command, which became involved in a whole range of domestic and international political incidents and intrigues. This was the body that stage-managed the 'act of free choice' in 1969 in Irian Jaya (West Papua).

After its establishment in the early 1970s, the CSIS quickly became the largest and most influential think-tank in Indonesia. Murtopo's ties with Suharto were so close at this time that it was as if the country's internal and external policies were being run from Jalan Tanah Abang, where the CSIS headquarters was located. The death of Father Beek, in 1978 or 1979 was a big loss for the Centre which also suffered in the late 1970s from a decline in Murtopo's political role, largely due to his ailing health.

In the meantime, Sofyan had left the CSIS to go into business. He became the director of PT Garuda Mataram, the sole agent for Volkswagen cars. In 1983, Sofyan was appointed manager of P.T. Truba, a new company set up by the armed forces to manage all their business interests. This put him into a position of exceptional influence. Yusuf remained with the CSIS.

Special CSIS projects

East Timor: From the very start, the CSIS was deeply involved in Indonesia's takeover of East Timor. The Centre took responsibility for negotiations with the Portuguese during 1974 and 1975. Yusuf was at all times in the thick of things. He was on the delegation that visited Lisbon in October and also on the delegation that attended the Macao meeting in June 1975.

The Centre's role in East Timor has continued unabated, primarily in the international aspects of the issue. In essence, Suharto relies on Murdani and the CSIS in all matters related to East Timor.

The Pacific: The CSIS was the first body to evolve an active policy towards the Pacific, strongly advocating greater involvement in the area. Even Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, no fan of the Centre's which has often been described as an "alternative foreign ministry", has followed its policy recommendations regarding the Pacific.

Indo-China: Indonesia's active policy on Kampuchea also originated from the CSIS. In CSIS political thinking, China is the major threat; hence, a greater role for Vietnam is favoured so as to bring about a better balance in the region.

Wanandi and human rights

Up to the late 1970s when Indonesia was under constant attack because of the detention without trial of tens of thousands of political prisoners, it was Wanandi who defended the government's position in articles and letters in the foreign press, notably in the **Far Eastern Economic Review.**

Wanandi/CSIS and East Timor

Since Benny Murdani became armed forces commander-in-chief in 1983, the CSIS under its director Yusuf Wanandi has been used as a prime source of advice and strategic thinking in foreign affairs. Because East Timor still remains firmly on the international agenda, the CSIS has been and continues to be a chief adviser and operator in affairs related to the annexed territory.

The CSIS role vis-a-vis East Timor has been paramount. The Centre is in charge of all foreign visits and deals with enquiries from foreign embassies in Jakarta. It also controls the activities of the International Red Cross. This places it at the heart of the regime's policy of preventing independent observers from gaining access, and to control the visits of all foreign journalists and diplomats who are allowed in. The primary purpose of this supervision is to conceal the role of the military, to prevent contact with Timorese who are not part of the Indonesian administration, and to hide the facts about atrocities and other human rights abuse.

To allow the senior functionary of this agency to sit as a human rights expert on the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities is a traversty and will totally discredit the sub-commission. Still worse, Yusuf will do his utmost to ward off complaints against Indonesia on the Sub-comission oand on the Human Rights Commission.

Juwono Sudarsono

The man who will deputise for Yusuf is an academic with a doctorate in international relations from London University. He has a special interest in Asian and Pacific affairs. He is known to be very close to the CSIS. He writes frequently in publications like the weekly Tempo and the daily Suara Pembaruan. He has never shown any interest in human rights and is not connected with any of the human rights-related Indonesian NGOs. Indeed, his appointment only confirms that Indonesia sees the role of its 'expert' representatives on the Sub-commission as a matter of international relations and diplomacy and totally unrelated to protecting anyone's human rights, least of all the victims of Indonesian abuse.

London, January 1988

Notes on Yusuf Wanandi and Yuwono Sudarsono

Yusuf Wanandi (Liem Bian Kie)
Together with his brother Sofyan Wanandi/Liem Bian Koen, were very instrumental in the creation of an alliance between the military and the students/intellectuals in the period of the military takeover of 1965. Both as representatives of the Catholic minority (Yusuf was already a law graduate and Sofyan was a student in economics) fulfilled an important role in the anti-communist drive of those days. They belonged to a small but dedicated group of extreme right-wing Catholics led by the Dutch priest father Beek S.J., trained ideologically and politically in anti-communism. Sofyan emerged in this period (1965-1969) as one of the prime leaders of the rightwing KAMI student federation. KAMI, operating in the big cities , rallying and mobilising the mob, succeeded together with the military to destroy physically all the leftwing and progressive organisations and trade unions. Yusuf at the same time, more low-profile, was the schemer and thinker. The important contact to the military was colonel Ali Murtopo, intelligence officer at KOSTRAD, the reserve troops commanded by general Suharto. The relation with Ali Murtopo will remain a constant factor until the death of AM in 1982. Father Beek, Ali Murtopo (a general by now) and the two Wanandis decided to establish a think tank called CSIS, Centre for Strategic and International Studies. In the 'warming-up' period between 65-69, before CSIS was established, Ali Murtopo and his gang (including the two brothers) operated in a semi-clandestine intelligence outfit called OPSUS. OPSUS was the body who stage managed 'the act of free choice' in 1969 in Irian Jaya (West Papua). In the seventies CSIS was by large the most important think tank in Indonesia. Ali Murtopo's special relations with President Suharto as main advisor made as if Indonesia's internal and external policies were developed in jalan Tanah Abang (the street where the CSIS office lies) instead in the palace. The death of father Beek (1978 or 1979) was quite a loss for CSIS and Ali Murtopo's decreasing health conditions also affected CSIS influence in the late seventies. In the meantime Sofyan Wanandi left the scene and became a respectable businessman, director of PT Garuda Mataram, the sole dealer of Volkswagen cars. In 1983 Sofyan was appointed by the Armed Forces to lead all the business interests of the Armed Forces. All the companies were brought under one trust called PT TRUBA, headed by Sofyan. By this time Sofyan has become one of the most influential persons in the republic. In the meantime brother Yusuf remained as one of the pillars of CSIS. Several policies laid out by CSIS have become a kind of monopoly and the Indonesian Government has adopted this policies over the years. Three examples of foreign affairs were Yusuf is directly involved are :

- East Timor, from the early beginning Ali Murtopo, Benny Murdani (member of OPSUS in the sixties), Yusuf Wanandi were the architects of the East Timor take-over. Until this very moment President Suharto relies solely on Murdani/CSIS regarding East Timor.
- Pacific, CSIS was the first body who developed an active policy towards the Pacific.Even Foreign Minister Mochtar, who is not a

CSIS fan follows CSIS policies and advices on the Pacific.

- IndoChina, Indonesia's active policy on the Kampuchea matter also originates from the CSIS thinktank. In CSIS political framework of security in the region, China is regarded as the major threat and therefor a bigger role for Vietnam is advisable to balance the powers in the region.

Since Benny Murdani became Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, Yusuf Wanandi and his CSIS are still being used as one of the main advisors on foreign policy. On domestic policy Murdani has developed other advisory and intelligence bodies but on foreign matters (East Timor is partly a foreign affairs issus, as it is still on the agenda of international conferences). he still relies on the advices and policies of Yusuf Wanandi and other CSIS experts.

Particularly on East Timor, Yusuf Wanandi's role has been paramount. Foreign embassies seeking information about East Timor are mostly taken care of by CSIS and not by the Foreign Office. Visits of diplomats, journalists to East Timor have always been prepared by CSIS. Yusuf is really an oldtimer on East Timor affairs, the Lisbon meeting between Lt.general Ali Murtopo and his delegation (including Yusuf) in October 74 and the Macao meeting was also prepared and attended by Yusuf Wanandi.

Over the years, Yusuf Wanandi has proved himself as somebody who doesn't particularly cherish fundamental human rights. On the contrary, everybody in indonesia invilved in Human Rights Affairs like lawyers and other activists will all agree that Yusuf Wanandi is one of the last persons to speak as an expert on Human rights.

Notes on Yuwono Sudarsono

At present teaches at the most prestigious University, the Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta. His subject is international relations with a strong focus on Asia pacific matters. He is very close to the CSIS views (like East Timor and Vietnam) but is more independent from the militatry than CSIS. Speaks English fluently as he made his PhD at the wellknown LSE, london School of Economics. Writes frequently in the major publications like Tempo and Suara Pembaruan. So far has not attached himself in direct political matters and remained within academic confinement. Is therefore totally unfamiliar with Human Rights matters.